372 A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses,
354 which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark,
the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at
the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe re-
[773] late in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human
beings, who fetched fire (ndūăn) from God (Sama); according to
other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's
time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is
carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to
worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need
to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house
where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand
flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for
cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the planta-
● [192] tions, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone,
there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow;
or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the
vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house,
fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in ex-
ceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an
emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

373 Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch
light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/
the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance,
dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange
and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic
than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks
[824] of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǒm;
stalk, kō'mō IV Fang, kūū'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11
/Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekă'ba), which —
when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other
hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

373 The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivi-
357 ties or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu =
824 resin). Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin
314 of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum,
obê Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

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Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kiñ; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebok; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvöbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

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273 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esáñ e kǭě Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esáñ e kā'ja); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engǒ'n, num afǭñ), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fǫ'lǫ'm), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kǭlǭ't); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fē̄i), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzē̄i, masámengǔmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzē̄i I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Wild. (mfǒs I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngǔkǔ'n IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otē̄k); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbábe-lǫ'mo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esáñ-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (osisáñ-bongǭn-b'ojě'k); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangá'me III Fang, engukǭ'm Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ncě's IV, klē̄s IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esá'ñ); and finally, of ferns (zǒ'ñ IV), in particular Dryopteris

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

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2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

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1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asŭn "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fɔ̂ III), and molars (ekŏ'k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

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VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsŏm, from nsŏ'm = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. estŏ'n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

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1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsŏm came from nsŏ'm, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsŏm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsŏm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

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Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsŏ̀m, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsŏ̀m. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esŭ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. mbă' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndūńo, from andūn = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfūmū, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asŏ̀n = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akŏ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edŭ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tŭ̀lo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikaña,

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

194 As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
197 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghe (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afɔ̂'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[199] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18, 000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7, 000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10, 000 to 12, 000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

G14 G19 Trilles listed about 80 meyoñ among the Fang of Gabon, and comparable figures may be set for the Boulou or the Ewôndo, which would tend to cross-check the theory according to which clan ties extend across tribal boundaries to include the whole Pahouin group. The phenomenon does not seem open to question as regards those clans that are to be found under the same name throughout all, or in many, tribes; it is perhaps more questionable for certain Gabon segments that have been more or less arbitrarily absorbed into Cameroons clans at the time of "Pahouin regrouping." Even in the latter case, however, there exists for the pseudo tradition a precedent genuinely rooted in custom, that of tribes like the Yebekolo or the Yembama, whose names suggest that we are dealing with former clans, which became detached from a tribe (the Boulou, in actual fact) and took to practicing endogamy. An analgous process of "clanification" may be imagined of Fang segments too long isolated from their ayoñ.

Be that as it may, this intertribal community of meyoñ is more apparent between the Boulou and Fang tribes, that is, in the south, than between them and the Beti tribes of the north, certain of which, moreover, call the clan mvôg, not ayoñ, a phenomenon perfectly explicable if we admit that the Eton and Mangisa, for instance, are Pahouinized rather than true Pahouin.

G14 Each ayoñ has a proper name, which, according to Trilles, would be that of the clan totem preceded by the prefix ésa or ye (segments and lineages are called by the name of the ancestor). Some meyoñ, however, have a name that does not include these particles, but they are generally those groups that possess a particular kind of structure G14 M2 to which we shall refer later on (1). The particle ésa derives from the

1. The ébi clans in Gabon are related in the opinion of some writers to the ésa clans; but there is a noun ébi, ébé, meaning hole, ditch.

verb sak /47/, a transitive verb meaning "to perform coition" (sa' minga = to copulate with a woman), by extension meaning "to impregnate;" the regular derivative, ésa/bisa, means "lineage," while the irregular form, ésa/beséa, means "father." The particle ye might come from yee, "valley," "hollow," "fissure," perhaps connected with a root Y./YI connoting ideas of moisture, feminity, or maternity

614 (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother; 192 nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of 571 directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the 614 line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.

In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there